The People's Korea

RECEIVED
SERIAL DIVISION
MAY 29 1981

No. 1,043 EVERY SATURDAY MAY 23, 1981 Per Copy Price:¥250 (US$1.00)
(1961年PROPERTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY)

Chief Executive Warns of Continuing Cold Front

President Kim Il Sung gave on-the-spot guidance to the Hari Cooperative Farm, Kangdong County, S. Pyongan Province on May 5. KCNA Radiophoto

President Kim Il Sung warned of the continuing effects of the cold front on agriculture and urged the principle of right crop in right season and on right soil.

Making this advice to farmers, the chief executive said it was important to apply in good time various kinds of fertilizers, inorganic and organic, including compost of good quality and chemical fertilizers.

He was addressing members of the Hari Cooperative Farm, in Kangdong County, South Pyongan Province on completion of new terraced fields.

During his May 5 visit to the farm for on-the-spot guidance, President Kim Il Sung expressed satisfaction with the creation of 100 hectares of terraced fields in a short span of time.

Citing the mountainous terrain of Korea, the President described as effective the construction of terraced fields and stressed the need to undertake a tideland reclamation project.

He said the reclamation of 300,000 hectares of tideland is one of the ten major economic goals.

The chief executive called upon the whole nation to finish rice transplanting and the transplanting of humus-potted maize seedlings in a short time and in a lightning way.

Rodong Sinmun on Mitterrand Victory

Rodong Sinmun, the organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, May 13 printed a signed commentary headlined "Historic Victory of French Democratic Forces," hailing the election of Francois Mitterrand as French President.

The commentary reads in full:

In the French presidential election held on May 10, Francois Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, won victory by polling a majority.

As a result, the d'Estaing regime which has further aggravated the economic crisis and imposed heavy burdens and sufferings upon the people, pursuing an anti-popular policy over the last seven years, will resign.

The French people warmly hail the election of Francois Mitterrand. The democratic forces and peace-loving people of the world welcome his election.

The result of the recent presidential election in France is a historic victory of the French working people and democratic forces who have struggled against exploitation by monopoly capital, inflation and unemployment and for democratic freedom and peace.

The recent election campaign in France was conducted against the background of a serious socio-economic crisis sweeping the whole country.

In recent years production in various industrial domains of France has steadily declined and the deficits of the state budget and foreign trade have increased. The inflation has become serious and unemployment increased.

This has gravely affected the living of the working people.

Sentiments have daily run high among the French people against the reactionary authorities which are deepening the socio-economic crisis.

With a crisis becoming serious, the French democratic forces and people of broad sections actively joined in the struggle against monopoly capital's arbitrariness and for democratic freedom, vital rights and peace.

The French Socialist Party, firmly maintaining an independent stand, is striving to overcome the economic crisis, liquidate unemployment and inflation and improve the living conditions of the working people.

It is also conducting energetic activities to ease the international tension, ensure peace and security in Europe and the world and develop friendship and cooperation among the peoples.

The result of the recent election proved that such efforts of the French Socialist Party enjoy active support and response from the French people of broad segments.

Francois Mitterrand said that his "victory is the first victory of the forces of youth, labour and creators united for a national desire for employment, peace and freedom."

Our people who are following with keen interest the just cause of the French Socialist Party are rejoiced at the result of the recent election.

The Korean and French peoples are linked by the bonds of friendship in the common struggle for independence and peace.

In particular, the significant meeting between President Kim Il Sung and Mr. Francois Mitterrand in February this year in Pyongyang made a great contribution to the development of friendly relations between two peoples.

Our people believe that relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Korea and France will grow stronger and develop in the common idea of independence, peace and friendship.

Black Ribbon Tactics Reported in Kwangju

Kyodo, a Japanese news agency, reported on May 17 from Seoul, students and citizens of Kwangju were adopting black-ribbon tactics while taxi-drivers and traders and owners of stands in city markets were talking of a possible one-day business suspension, to mark the first anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising.

One dissident citizen told the report that without government control numerous citizens would gather in front of the provincial government building.

One student said, "We will now engage in a new dimension of struggle for national reunification, a liftup from the mere anti-government struggle."

Songgyungwan Students Stage Anti-Chon Protest

Over 2,000 students of Seoul's privately-run Songgyungwan University staged on May 12 an anti-Chon on-campus demonstration, marking the 1st anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising, reports reaching here from Seoul said.

The demonstration started when a few students scattered leaflets from the rooftop of a school building, urging fellow students to rise against the Chon junta.

A 200-man riot police unit was rushed to the school, firing tear gas to disperse the demonstrating students.

Slogan-chanting students protestors hurled stones onto the riot police in an hour-long battle, which left three police officers wounded. Five students were arrested.

Leaflets cited these slogans: "Down with the Chon Du Hwan fascist regime!" "Expel the minister of education!" "Expel the government-sponsored opposition parties!" "Away with the pro-government newspapermen!" and "We oppose military-led government!"

The demonstrating students demanded the release of all the political prisoners.

They marked a May 18–27 period as a "period for a holy war for democracy." They appealed to fellow students to wear black ribbons on their chests during this period.

Foreign reports remarked the demonstration was the first ever known action taken by students to commemorate the 1st anniversary of the Kwangju incident.

The students of the same university carried out a similar protest action on March 31.

Another foreign press report revealed that students of another private university Chungang University demonstrated on campus on May 7, distributing handbills. The protesting students urged the fellow students through hand-carried microphones to launch a new struggle against Chon. Two students were reportedly detained by police.

Int'l Rally for S. Korean Democracy Held in Tokyo

An international rally for south Korean democracy held in Tokyo May 16-19 declared the Kim Dae Jung affair not over and called the junta of Gen. Chon Du Hwan "worse than that of the assassinated predecessor Pak Jung Hi."

The rally, called Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy, was attended by over 400 delegates from Japan, France, West Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and 21 other countries. (See Related Stories on Pages 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7)

Among the overseas delegates were Mr. Daniel Mayer, President of the International Human Rights League, special adviser to President-elect Mitterrand of France; Mr. Alfred Emerlich, a representative of the ruling Social Democratic Party of West Germany; Mr. Dennis Canavon, Member of the British Parliament on behalf of the Scottish Labor group; Ms Joan Taggert, Vice-President of the Australian Labor Party. (See List of Overseas Delegates on Page 8)

The international conference, partly designed to commemorate the first anniversary of the Kwangju incident, came amids reports of political and social instability in south Korea.

The world assembly unanimously adopted the 1981 Tokyo Declaration and proposed to designate May 18, the first day of the Kwangju Uprising, as "Kwangju Day."

"It has become clear that it is the strong political, military and economic support of the United States, Japan and other governments seeking to promote their own interests which sustains this repugnant regime," the Tokyo declaration noted.

The aim of the world meeting, in the words of one of its secretary generals Oda Makoto, was "to increase voices of support for the south Korean democratic movement and to reveal the true colors of the Chon Du Hwan regime."

On behalf of host organizations here of the world rally, Mr. Makieda Motofumi, Chairman of the powerful Sohyo (the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), addressed the conference. He described the present-day south Korea as "a volatile magazine of tension that could explode at any moment."

Japan's top-ranking labor leader claimed the situation in south Korea warranted serious public

(Continued on page 3)

The Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy was held in the Shakai Bunka Kaikan in Tokyo from March 16 through 19. Photo shows the platform of the first day session.

Child Care in DPRK

In the world more than 700 million people are starving today. Among them 300 million are said to be children, or 23 percent of the total world population of children. At least 55 million children under 15 worldwide are working without receiving proper education, according to a study by the International Labor Organization.

It is a widely known fact that the DPRK pays special attention to education and does all it can to develop education. Its completely free 11-year compulsory education system is the longest one in the world together with that of England.

Unlike those of other countries, its compulsory education system includes one-year preschool education as a first important step in human education. All the 4-year old infants are enrolled in kindergartens. Moreover, from 90-day old babies to 3-year old infants are cared in well-equipped nurseries and kindergartens. They are free of charge.

It has over 60,000 nurseries and kindergartens with 3.5 million babies and children enrolled. Its population is 17 million. Japan, one of the most advanced capitalist countries, with a population of 117 million, has about 36,274 nurseries and kindergartens, and south Korea, with a population of about 36 million, has only 1,645.

Nursery and kindergarten teachers' ratio is one teacher for 3.4 children in the DPRK, one for 16 in Japan. In case of south Korea one kindergarten teacher takes care of about 19 children, and a nursery teacher takes care of 73 babies and children.

In the DPRK, day-nurseries, week-nurseries are built at public expenses in all the places, even in countrysides and mountainous areas. People say, "Where there are three women and three children, there is a nursery." Nursing expenses are about 200 dollars per child per year. The state bears all these expenses. Nurseries and kindergartens are located near mothers' work places, so that they can feed their babies three times a day. In farms, poles with flags are often found. They indicate places where mother farmers feed their babies during their working hour. Nursery teachers bring babies there.

Nurseries and kindergartens are well equipped. They have gymnasiums, amusement halls, auditoriums, class rooms, bed rooms, restaurants, bathrooms, pools and child wards. Full-time doctors and nurses always stand by for any emergency case at child wards.

Refreshments are given to the children three times a day.

Thanks to the developed child care system, in the DPRK, mentally and physically handicapped children are seldom found. Special boardings for the congenital deaf and dumb are in suburbs for their treatment and education without feeling any forms of discrimination.

JAPAN

In Japan, because of shortage of nurseries, unauthorized privately-run nurseries called "baby hotels" have appeared since three or four years ago. The supposed aim of "baby hotels" is to take care of babies and children while their parents are working. However, these "baby hotels" have recently become very embarrassing to the Japanese government. The appalling state of "baby hotels" is an issue before recent sessions of the Japanese Diet.

In March, two babies were found dead in "baby hotels." After this accident the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare investigated the condition of "baby hotels." They were found unfavorable for child education.

According to an announcement of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, there are 587 "baby hotels" throughout Japan, most of them in big cities, with over 10,000 babies and children taken care of. The real number of infants in "baby hotels" is estimated at 20,000

Some babies have been left in "baby hotels" for over one year. Their parents' addresses and even names are unidentified. One teacher at a baby hotel said that 8 mothers or fathers brought their children to her baby hotel with an eye to leaving them there. At one baby hotel, babies are placed in boxes and are not provided with even enough food. There in many cases children do not change their clothes into pajamas when they go to bed. They are just wrapped up in blankets.

About 43 percent of the teachers at "baby hotels" are unlicensed. "Baby hotels" with no licensed teachers account for 56.

The reality of "baby hotels" is easily found in the words of a manager of one baby hotel: "Mothers think that nurseries are something like vending machines which bring up their children if they put money into them. We do nothing good for children's education after we received the children, even though our nursery is advertized as one which gives children specific education for brilliant children."

SOUTH KOREA

In south Korea, the situation is worse.

From many years ago, the south Korean authorities have been sent abroad children for adoption. In 1978 alone, these children reached 5,400. Most of them are from poor families or abandoned children.

Photo: Clockwise from the top

- **Children picnicking on the Taesongsan Pleasure Ground, Pyongyang.**
- **Children waiting for their turn to ride a pleasure-making vehicle.**
- **Children on a rotating flower cup in a nursery.**
- **Dancing boy at an athletic meeting of kindergarten children.**
- **Infants playing in a nursery gymnasium.**
- **Little sisters in a park.**

Interviews with Overseas Delegates:

"Kim Dae Jung Case Is Not Over"

Overseas delegates who attended the May 16–19 Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy told reporters of the People's Korea that the south Korean junta of Gen. Chon Du Hwan must be replaced with a democratic government for the reunification of Korea and that the Kim Dae Jung case is not over by any means with the commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment. They charged Gen. Chon with ending hopes for establishment of a democratic government and committing a brutal murder in Kwangju. Follow excerpts from their interview:

We Want to See Korea Reunified

Interviewee: Mr. Dennis Canavon, Member of the British Parliament, Chairman of the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Group, the Scottish Group of Labour and Peace in the U.K. Parliament and Member of the Parliamentary Labor Party Foreign Affairs Group

Mr. Dannis Canavon

Q: What made you become interested in Korean affairs, especially in the problem of restoration of democracy to south Korea?

A: Well, I was a member of the first ever British parliamentary delegation to visit North Korea. On the following year, I was leader of the first ever British parliamentary delegation to attend the 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in Pyongyang.

Q: The south Korean authorities are creating an impression that the Kim Dae Jung affair is over with the commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment. What do you think of their allegations?

A: The Kim Dae Jung case is not over by any means. Mr. Kim Dae Jung is still in prison. And I don't think we can rest until Mr. Kim Dae Jung is released and I can point out that there was very much international pressure of opinion which brought about a commutation of the death sentence which was passed on Mr. Kim. As a contribution to worth-while international pressure, I was one of the main sponsors of a motion of the British Parliament to get his death sentence commutated. We cannot afford to rest. Because Kim Dae Jung has been wrongfully found guilty. He has been wrongfully in prison. I think people who do believe in justice throughout the world cannot afford to rest until Kim Dae Jung is released.

Q: What do you think of the latest proposal to reunify Korea, a plan to reunify the country by forming a neutral non-aligned confederal state?

A: Well, I certainly would like to see Korea reunified. And I would like to see a reunified Korea taking place amongst the non-aligned nations of the world. And I think that a major contribution which the south could make would be to have democracy in south Korea instead of the fascist military dictatorship at present. And I agree that the regime of Gen. Chon Du Hwan must be replaced with a democratic government for the successful solution of the reunification question. If somebody like Kim Dae Jung is released from prison, he would eventually become the leader of the people in south Korea. The people of south Korea desire much better leadership than non-elected military leadership.

Q: What do you think of Chon Du Hwan's military actions to end democratic hopes in south Korea?

A: There were hopes among the south Koreans at the time of the assassination of president Pak that this might open the way for a peaceful democratic change. But these hopes, off course, have since been dashed by the imprisonment of Kim Dae Jung and by the massacre at Kwangju when over 2,000 people are reported to have been killed, and many many more are injured.

Q:Recently, Mr. Mitterrand was elected the president of France. How did you feel about the Socialist leader's victory?

A: I was absolutely delighted at Mr. Mitterrand's success. And I hope I will get a similar success in Britain at the next general election. Because, Britain is suffering a great deal, just now, from high unemployment, high inflation and massive cutbacks in the essential services.

We Are on Side of Those for Democracy and Human Rights

Interviewee: Mr. Alfred Emerlich, a Member of the West German Parliament, Member of the Social Democratic Party

Q: Since south Korean democratic leader Kim Dae Jung was sentenced to death, the West German government has been actively engaged in a campaign to prevent him from being executed by hanging. Why did your government take various actions to save Mr. Kim Dae Jung?

A: We think that Mr. Kim Dae Jung is not a criminal. He was sentenced to death for political reasons. We don't agree with any political trials.

Q: Do you think that the Kim Dae Jung case is all over now with the commutation of his death sentence to life in prison?

A: No. I don't think so. Now, we are working for complete liberation of Mr. Kim. He must be free right now. The treatment of Mr. Kim Dae Jung would be most important for the relations between the government of West Germany and south Korea.

Q: Amnesty International has recently reported that a great number of political prisoners are still in jail in south Korea. What do you think of the human rights situation in south Korea as a whole?

Mr. Alfred Emerlich

A: It is clear to us that human rights are not respected in south Korea not only politically but also personally. I think that human rights problems must be solved. This is most important not only for the future of a unified Korea but for world peace.

Q: Why are you interested in the democratic process in south Korea?

A: We (our party and the Bonn government) are on the side with those who are fighting for democracy and human rights of south Korea and will direct our all efforts to support them. I would add that we believe that a policy which would bring us into conflict with our lines would not be in the interests of supporting the democratic movement in south Korea and the re-unification.

Commutation of Mr. Kim's Death Sentence First Step for Long Struggle

Interviewee: Ian Wilson, Professor of Political Science at Australian National University

Q: What brought you to this conference?

A: I came to the conference primarily to learn more facts about the situation of human rights, democratic rights in south Korea and to exchange views with other experts, both Koreans and foreigners, to attempt to assess a possibility of change there.

Q: What did you learn from foreign and Korean experts?

A: I attended the sessions on human rights. Well, I think that the sessions on human rights brought more facts before us about why human rights are in jeopardy in south Korea. I think that it was interesting to the foreign delegates to notice the strength with which views are held, particularly, over the continued imprisonment of Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

Q: What do you think of the commutation of Kim's death sentence to life imprisonment?

A: In Australia, we never think that the Kim Dae Jung case is over with the commutation action. Anyway, we relieved he was not executed. This was the first step in a long struggle to secure his liberation.

Q: Do you think that Chon's murders in Kwangju and arrests of thousands of political figures affected the democratic process in south Korea?

Mr. Ian Wilson

A: Well, clearly, when you have incidents like the one in Kwangju, like the one which occurred in Thailand in 1973, the struggle to establish democratic rights becomes a very difficult one. And obviously the struggle in Korea is still to be one.

Q: What do you think of the re-unification problem?

A: I think that the two parts of Korea have been separated for a long-time. I wouldn't not be naive enough to think that reunification could be achieved overnight. I think the matter must be discussed and it must confronted objectively. I'm sorry that more progress hasn't been made last two years to this end.

"We must establish in Korea social order based on a democratic constitution."

As for the question of north-south Korean reunification, the spokesman of Korean groups overseas concluded there was no other way but to seek for a mutually-acceptable formula of letting north and south Korean systems coexist as a common ground for reunification.

A number of foreign delegates brought greetings from the political leaders of their homelands. These included Ms. Joan Taggert and Mr. Daniel Mayer.

Mr. Mayer remarked, "We are assembled here to free Kim Dae Jung because he hasn't committed any of the crimes he's been accused of."

The Chairman of West Germany's Committee of Law, Dr. Alfred Emerlich spoke about the rights of speech, free assembly, and the political rights of human beings.

(Continued on page 8)

S. Korean "Gov't" Undemocratic

Interviewee: Mr. Gregory Nissen, Member of the Labour Party in Holland, Assistant to the International Sector of the Party

Mr. Gregory Nissen

Q: Holland is far away from S. Korea. Why are you interested in democratization of south Korean society?

A: I've been in (south) Korea. So, my first interest comes from my stay in Korea. Holland does not have much information on the south Korean situation. Last year, we saw television showing some views on incidents in Kwangju. The first long information for me was a movie of yesterday on Kwangju massacre. It was a terrible movie to see what's happening in Kwangju.

Q: Do you think that the Kim Dae Jung case is over with the commutation step taken by the Chon junta?

A: I think, Socialist International also thinks that Kim Dae Jung must be out of prison. People will fight it out till he is free.

Q: What do you think of the recent south Korean "presidential and parliamentary elections?"

A: The elections were not held in a correct way. The south Korean government is not a democratic government, I think.

Tokyo Assembly

(Continued from Page 1)

concern because of its dangers to the peace and security of North-east Asia and the world.

Former ruling party Diet member and currently independent, Mr. Utsunomiya Tokuma spoke of how domestic and international pressure could force the Japanese Government to reconsider its ties with the repressive junta of Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

In his keynote report Mr. Pae Dong Ho, Chairman and International Secretary General of the Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification, said:

Ending Mil. Dictatorship And Restoring Democracy

—Keynote Report (Gist)

Introduced here is a gist of a keynote report to the Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy made on May 16 by Pae Dong Ho, Chairman and International General Secretary of the Union of Overseas Koreans for Democracy and Unification:

☆

The urgent issue concerning the south Korean democratization is to establish a correct direction and objective. As shown clearly in the case of the Park Cung Hee assassination and in the case of the window-dressing Choi Kyu Ha administration, it is evident that mere elimination of one dictator or temporary deceptive measures cannot achieve a viable democracy.

For this reason, I believe that our objective of democratization in south Korea is to restore the social climate prior to the time of May 16th of 1981. In other words, we must establish the social order based on a democratic Constitution exemplified in the period prior to that date, for the 18 years of Park's tyranny and the regimes of Choi Kyu Ha and the Chun are all invariably a form of fascist dictatorial regimes which were obtained through illegal maneuvers.

The case of Chun closely parallels that of his mentor, Park, who made numerous empty promises of "no political ambition" or "return to the duty as an army man", etc. Whereas Park executed three coups during his 18 years' reign Chun already executed three coups in only 14 months of his reign including the army purification plot of December 12, the May 17 Martial Law and establishment of the Kukbo Eui (the Emergency Council for National Security), and the Revision Constitution at the cost of Choi Kyu Ha. Moreover, Chun commanded the Kwangju massacre. This is precisely why he is stamped as the unprecedented brutal director. In view of this, it is not too difficult to foresee that Chun would dare employ every available means to prolong his power.

On February 11 of this year, there held an election to form the "People's Council of Presidential Election". It, in its tricky provisions, guaranteed for a sure election of Chun Doo Hwan himself. An endorsement and signatures of 100–150 citizens to nominate a candidate to the Council was required. Through the mobilization of local authorities, police and terrorists prevented the promising minority party members from running to the Council. As a result, there were only handful candidates from non pro-government parties which occupied only 27% in total of the set member of the Council, 5,278. The presidential election is based on a simple majority vote in the Council and it is needless to say that the outcome was predetermined because the total number of non pro-government candidates, before the election, did not even reach the half of the Council members. It resulted in the outcome of 69.7% from the pro-government "Min-jung Dang" party. Counting the number from some newly concocted pro-government parties, the election was one-sided with over 90% for pro-government forces. This is the south Korean style of democracy.

The election of national assembly was done in the same manner. In the previous period of democratic constitution prior to the Park regime, the election system in south Korea was based on a principle of one assembly man from one election district over the whole country. Facing the difficulty in securing a majority in the assembly, the Park regime changed it from "one from one district" to "two from one district". In this new system, the second runner could be also elected to the assembly.

The March 25 election under Chun was carried out in this identical tactic. The bulk of progovernment leaders were gagged or expelled from a political involvement and as a result, there happened to create many election districts without any meaningful competition. Beside this, the candidates from the pro-government parties were to be elected in one single election district, not in the "two from one district". The Chun regime was thus, guaranteed for an absolute majority in the assembly.

Beyond these tactics, Chun innovated another deception. Under the Park regime, 1/3 of the assembly members were to be appointed by the president. Chun replaced a new equally tricky system for the earlier one. The present assembly is composed of 276 members. Out of the total number, only 184 are to be elected through voting. The remaining 92 seats are selected on the "ratio base" which is to say that the largest political party would appoint 61 seats which constitutes two thirds of the 92 seats. By doing this, the majority will be always secured by the pro-government party no matter what happens in an election.

This election law was fabricated through the pro-Chun organ, "The Legislative Council of National Security" to which Chun is empowered to appoint his faithful members. All this comes down to one word "illegal one-man law".

The second point I would like to emphasize is to set the focal objective of the south Korean democratization on the establishment of a coalition government of all democratic elements in Korea. This is a national conviction that we gained through our tragic past experiences in which we lost golden opportunities to establish a democracy following the April 19 student, revolution as well as following the October 26 assassination of Park.

In the present epoch of democracy which is supposed to guarantee human and political rights of the people it is more than natural that the people should enjoy their rights as the master of their nation to determine their fate. In other words, only by securing the democratic rights in the hands of people, it is feasible to establish a democratic government.

In future projection, one wonders what type of government there will be after the fall of the present military dictatorial regime in south Korea. In today's world there are several forms of government in existence such as a system controlled by capitalist class, a system of workers and peasants; and people's democratic system. I, for one, do not, however, believe that any of these foreign systems is not applicable to our present condition. For the case of capitalism, it is meant to be a system where the comprador government controlled capital accumulators become a dominant force which would increase the degree of foreign dependency. For the case of workers-peasants system, it is meant to be a communization which is not welcomed by our people. For the third, the people's democratic system, is not appropriate to Korea either, for it is an interim course of regime toward its final goal of socialism.

The task of the south Korean democratization is to topple the military dictator and replace it with a democracy which promotes a civil rights of all people. The most appropriate system for south Korea is, to my view, a coalition government. There are several examples of coalition government system in the world which exemplify on-going internal power struggles to secure their own political interests. This is not the one I am presently advocating for. My envision for a democratic coalition government which is conceived in our common goal namely: democratization to replace the military dictatorship and a unification of our divided country. This government will be in a true sense of the word of coalition, consisted of all the democratic elements and of all strata of the Korean people including the political and social leaders, democratic religious leaders, student leaders, patriotic soldiers, national industrial leaders, and leaders of the Korean residents abroad who participate in our common struggle.

This form of coalition government will no doubt serve the nation to realize our goal of democratization, unlike that "weak government" of Chang Myon who invited a military coup.

As my last point of emphasis, I would like to touch briefly on the issue of our national unification. The real obstacle to the North-South dialogue is the anti-unification stance of the dictatorial regime in the South, for it really does not have an intention for it to illustrate the point, it should be reminded that Park Chung Hee banned all forms of unification debate by depriving all organizations of opportunities to engage in any discussion of unification including the "National Council for Unification" of which head was Park himself. Furthermore, Kim Young Sam was expelled from his Assembly seat primarily due to his expressed desire to engage in a meeting with the head of the State of the North.

The Chun regime, who dare review a severe punishment against Kim Dae Jung for his persistent advocacy for a peaceful unification, cannot be qualified even to mention the word of unification. When a democratic government comes to exist in the South can only when it becomes a reality, a meaningful dialogue between various political and social representatives from both North and South could be attainable. We, democratic forces of the Koreans abroad, have been advocating for long a North-South Confederate System. Due to the 36 some years of separation, both the North and South have become stubborn in the differences in their political and social systems and in their ideologies and they are not willing to alter thier views. In this difficult circumstance, there will be no other way but to search a mutually acceptable model—in which the systems of each can be recognized by each other yet a common ground for unification can be also promoted. This is a road to a unification based on the principle of confederacy.

Tokyo Declaration

Follows a gist of the "1981 Tokyo Declaration" made public on May 18 at the end of the Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy:

☆

The tension in Korea began with the division of the country by outside forces after World War II. The military dictatorship in the South which has received the support of outside forces who profit from the division, regardless of the national tragedy of the Korean people, finds its support in the tension resulting from division. In this situation, the path to democracy is barred, and the desire of the Korean people for national reunification is trampled on.

We declare:

1. Real democratic constitutional government must be established in south Korea.

The "adaptation of democracy to Korean conditions" and the "freedom from repression and abusive power" that the Chun regime prattles on about are hypocrisy and deception. Democracy and human rights, which are the bases of contemporary politics and human society, must be guaranteed in south Korea.

As a first step, Kim Dae Jung and the many other political prisoners must be released at once and all political rights restored immediately and unconditionally to them all. The Kim Dae Jung affair is certainly not over. The commutation of Kim Dae Jung's death sentence by the Chun regime was only to try to fool the people and deceive world opinion. In the name of the conscience of mankind and based on the principle of democracy, we strongly demand the immediate and unconditional release of, and the restoration of all rights to, the many imprisoned democrats who share his resolve. This is the necessary first step towards the realization of democracy in south Korea.

Infringement of human rights and democracy in south Korea is not coincidental or partial. Because it is deeply rooted in the military dictatorship system, so long as this government, which is illegitimate and works against the people and the nation continues, democracy and human rights cannot be established. Our demand for the abolition of all the bad laws devised by the Chun regime, from the so-called "Constitution of the Fifth Republic", on down, and for the restoration of basic human rights, freedom of opinion, publication and thought, is based on recognition of this fact.

We strongly support the proposals of the Korean democratic movement for the establishment of a government of democratic union, with the participation of all democratic parties, organizations and strata of society.

2. It is necessary to devise an effective way to abolish tension and establish peace on the Korean peninsula.

Over one million troops, armed with the most modern equipment, confront each other across the Demilitarized Zone. In particular, some 40,000 U.S. land, sea and air forces are stationed in south Korea, and a substantial nuclear arsenal is deployed there. Recently, these have been re-inforced, and U.S.-South Korean joint maneuvers, which have an offensive character, have been held repeatedly. The recent series of summit meetings between the leaders of the three countries, the U.S.A., Japan and south Korea and the conference on the security of south Korea between the U.S.A. and south Korea indicate plans for building a new U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance.

The situation is moving toward a second Korean war. A new Korean war could develop into a larger war engulfing the whole of Asia, with the strong possibility of developing into a world nuclear war. We propose that, first, the unnatural state of continuing war that in a legal sense has continued ever since the Korean War, must be solved. In accordance with the principle of national self-determination a way to preserve peace in this region must be found. The military equipment of both sides should be sharply reduced, and we strongly hope that this region can be declared a non-nuclear and neutral zone, reflecting the history and present circumstances of the Korean peninsula.

3. The South-North division must be ended and national reunification accomplished.

It is a pre-requisite for the prosperity of the Korean nation and for the establishment of peace in Asia that the divided Korean nation be allowed to exercise its right of national self-determination and accomplish its reunification. It is interference by outside forces which even now prevents reunification and, recognizing that fact, we strongly demand that outside forces withdraw from Korea.

At present, the South and North have different ideologies and systems. The long-standing position of the Korean democratic movement is that national reunification should be accomplished through establishing a "confederation", with each side respecting the other's political and social system and standing in solidarity on the foundation of democracy and national self-determination, rather than advocating anti-communism or communization. This position should be respected and supported.

All the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula belong to one people — the Korean people. The question of reunification cannot be discussed fully and frankly without taking into account North Korea, the DPRK.

4. We support the struggle for south Korean democratization and all positive steps throughout the world to achieve it.

a) Actions in favour of the immediate liberation of Kim Dae Jung and all political prisoners;

b) active solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for democracy and reunification; in particular we propose naming May 18 "Kwangju Day";

c) strong opposition to governments which support the repressive policies of Chun Doo Hwan;

d) we appeal for international action to ease military tension between Northern and Southern Korea and for the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons;

e) we empower the Conference Secretariat to continue in existence and to function as a standing International Secretariat for International Solidarity with the Korean Democratic Movement.

Summaries of Subcoms.

On May 17, the second day of the Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy held in Tokyo, the eight subcommittees were held respectively. The following are summaries of five subcommittees: (Subtitles are ours . . . . . Ed.)

△

Pol. Subcom.

Seoul's Democracy: Prerequisite to Korea Reunion

At the political subcommittee, a keynote address headlined "Task of Democratization Movement of South Korea" was made by Chong Jae Jun, Chairman of Tokyo Headquarters of the Federation of South Korean Residents in Japan (anti-Chon Du Hwan organization). In his speech Mr. Chong referred on the nature of the Chon Du Hwan junta, the lack of democracy in south Korea and the importance of national reunification.

Following the keynote address there were presentations by five other speakers. The themes of speeches included: "Democratization & Reunification"; "U.S. Policy toward South Korea & Seoul's Political System"; and "People & Fascism."

Several "threads of thought" were present throughout the subcommittee. There was general focus and seeming agreement on the overall Asian strategy of the Reagan administration. Great concern and suspicion of the new U.S.–Japan military alliance, the security treaty upon which it is based and the proposed U.S.–Japan–south Korea military alliance was expressed by many of the participants. Another common thought was that the democratization of south Korea is a prerequisite to the reunification of the Korean nation.

There was definitely agreement that the U.S. and Japanese governments and the Chon junta each had to assume their share of the responsibility for the continued division and the majority of the people who spoke on this subject targeted the U.S. as the main obstacle to Korean reunification.

A great deal of the discussion period was spent in talking about the nature of dictatorships and the problem of the lack of dialogue by individuals and organizations representing different ideological views.

There seemed to be general agreement that dictatorships by the governments not supported by the masses of people are by nature unstable societies.

Finally everyone agreed that the level of communication between organizations and individuals with differing ideologies is extremely low and that in the south there are very stringent laws prohibiting such dialogue.

Economic Subcom.

Economic Policy Lacking in Consistency

Prof. Sumiya Mikio of Tokyo Women's Christian College gave a keynote speech on the south Korean economy. First of all, he discussed the question of what sustained growth, and what characterized growth.

The so-called south Korean economic growth was characterized by a priority to exports and the neglect of the domestic economy. These factors made its economy dependent on overseas trade and markets. Secondly, these priorities made the economy dependent on foreign technology and capital. Growth came by inducing foreign capital and an accumulation of foreign debt, which has come to be 3 to 4 billion dollars a year. This has led to a country "in debt or in bondage," according to Prof. Sumiya.

Thirdly, high growth has brought about high inflation. This has benefitted capitalists and managers, but has hurt the workers and farmers. The inflation has been caused by the increase in loans, and especially by the increases in defense spending.

Prof. Sumiya then outlined the problems of the process of high economic growth. A trade deficit and a low wage structure has been built into the economy.

Sumiya' also described how the economy has lacked consistency. For example, he said, the shipbuilding industry only produces hulls, showing how dependent it is on imports: All the machinery and instrumentation must be imported. The more shipbuilding grows, the more south Korea is dependent on imports.

The Japanese professor then outlined the imbalance of the economy. The export structure, he said, ignored the domestic market. The structure to supply the domestic market has been undeveloped. Also, the low-wage, low-income structure has been built into the economy. Although wages have been increased nominally, the point is that these wages have not increased or improved the livelihood of the people. The Engels coefficient, which measures how much people spend for living expenses, has remained at 50% for the last decade. The fact that living expenses are so high shows the difficult economic straits of the people, concluded Prof. Sumiya.

The next speaker, Mr. Wanghancho from Thailand, described lessons to be learned from south Korea. The main point, he said, is that foreign capitalists and bankers have controlled over the south Korean economy, which lessens the national characteristics of the economy. The export first policy also required a strong military and dictatorial system, he emphasized.

Mr. Shorrock from Nautilus International, the U.S., described the south Korean nuclear power program as an example of how south Korea is dependent on foreign capital, technology and loans. He also emphasized the dangers posed by nuclear waste burial and the danger of south Korea being armed by nuclear weapons from this nuclear power program.

Human Rights Subcom.

Stark & Naked Dictatorship; American Involvement

The topics that were covered by the subcommittee included such issues as the Kim Dae Jung case, details of the human rights violations by the Chon junta (including a specific report on torture), the Kwangju uprising, and the new south Korean Constitution plus the 215 laws that the south Korean authorities enacted since Gen. Chon seized power.

The oppressive laws of the Chon dictatorship were the subject of discussion in the subcommittee by one of Japan's most respected lawyers, Morikawa Kinju. He detailed how Chon Du Hwan orchestrated the enactment of the new repressive measures in south Korea's lawbooks. Chon handpicked the 82 members of the Legislative Assembly for National Security which enacted the laws, Morikawa said. The new constitution that Chon created was only approved by the people because a "no" vote on it would have meant that the even more reppressive Yushin constitution would have remained in effect.

In referring to the abolition of the KCIA (Korean Central Intelligence Agency) Morikawa commented, "It is true that Chun has removed the KCIA, but he has really established a new repressive organization, the Planning Department for Peace and Security."

The "why" question of the human rights violations was addressed by Edmund Jouve of the Permanent People's Tribunal based in Bologna, Italy. Jouve theorized that the reason for the lack of human rights in south Korea can be found in the military and economic situation in the country. He said that Seoul has been forced into a dependency militarily and economically by Japan and the U.S.A. He concluded that the reason perhaps the situation has been allowed to persist is that south Korea "is too far away" in the minds of the people of so many nations.

After Jouve finished his remarks, it was time for another recognized Japanese lawyer to discuss the Kim Dae Jung matter. Sasaki Hidenori gave a detailed account of the legal struggle of the imprisoned freedom fighter. Sasaki reminded the subcommittee and the audience of reporters and observers that Kim is not the only person serving time for expressing their desires to see democracy in south Korea. "We cannot give up the fight until all political prisoners have been freed", Sasaki urged.

Serving on the human rights subcommittee from Portugal is A. Baceler of that nation's Socialist Party. In strong words, he called the Seoul junta "a stark and naked dictatorship which doesn't respect the birthrights of the people."

The human rights subcommittee was given a detailed analysis of the new Constitution by Hans Thoolen, Executive Secretary of the International Commission of Jurists. Thoolen also had some suggestions as to what the assembly might do concerning the repressive measures enacted in Seoul recently. He suggested the publication of a booklet in English that would explain the new constitution. This would help people all over the world to understand the true nature of the legal framework that Chon has created for the nation, he remarked.

Prof. Steffen Treschel from Switzerland suggested that the subcommittee draw up a proposal to ask the Chon junta to allow the admission of a neutral commission to enter the country to investigate the status of political prisoners there. Prof. Treschel said this commission must be allowed to have a complete list of people denied their political rights, inspect any place of detention it desired, and be allowed to speak in private with any detainees. Such requests by the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, and the International Commission of Justice have already been refused by Seoul. "Any further refusal would be an admission of torture," Prof. Treschel commented.

Another professor, Ian Wilson of Australia warned the audience that the Chon junta is conducting an international campaign to beautify the human rights situation in south Korea. Prof. Wilson also announced that if the Labor Party regains power in Australia it would offer asylum to Kim Dae Jung, if the south Korean authorities will release the political prisoner.

The representative on the subcommittee from Italy, Marcheli Glisenti, proposed that the assembly urge the Catholic Church, especially the hierarchy in Rome to take an active part in the fight for human rights in south Korea and the world. She said, "The defense of human rights is an ideologies in order to weaken the dictatorships everywhere."

A view of the human rights subcommittee held on May 17

Mass Solidarity Move Subcom.

Courageous Resistance of Grass Roots

Co-chairperson Umebayashi presented a brief history of the Korean people's struggle and stressed its principled opposition to the dictatorship, to compradores, foreign domination by Japanese and U.S. big capital. Kumamoto from Sohyo told of the work he heads to support Kim Dae Jung, collecting over 5 million signatures, organizing a broad mass movement and advancing international aspects. The work must be continued until Kim, and other political prisoners are released. Answering a question, he said the major reason for not holding sessions in new Sohyo building was security, also there were some government pressures.

Five foreign delegates expressed solidarity and tied oppression of Koreans to U.S. and Japanese imperialism. I. Anastacio of Palau said, "My great grandfather spoke Spanish, my grandfather German, my father Japanese, and I speak English as a result of 36 years of U.S. administration. But the day of imperialism is past and in February, 1981, Palau became a Federal Republic with a model constitution that prohibits anything to do with nuclear weapons or power." Kuame Toure, formerly Stokeley Carmichael said, "it is a scientific law that wherever there is repression, there will be resistance, the primary responsibility of the people is to find their role in doing away with U.S. and Japanese imperialism. Africans have been raped, enslaved, killed and scattered like the Koreans but will win and establish scientific socialism through political education and disciplined mass struggle." Dave Dellinger from the U.S. said that the physical attacks by the Reunification Church on the increasingly active and spreading U.S. anti-imperialist movement are making Americans more aware of nature of south Korean dictatorship supported by U.S. militarism and imperialism. F. Guattari of France said world is in a transitional phase and requires new methods by which people struggle independently of the superpowers to control own destinies. "Capitalism cannot survive any longer without dictatorships like Chon Du Hwan."

Several Japanese told of struggles of unionists, including women textile workers and the metal workers to combat the economic invasion of south Korea by Japanese capital in response to low wages and high profits. Yamabara said, "At first, Japanese workers were misled by Japanese firms to take a narrow view of south Korean workers as the enemy, but have learned the enemy is Japanese industrialists and we now demand equal pay for equal work and increasingly cooperate with south Korean workers." Saito told of work to save south Korean residents of Japan who were arrested during visits and falsely accused. Five have been sentenced to death and the KCIA has threatened the families, but they refused to be intimidated. The Japanese government has colluded with the Chon junta and refused to intervene but is being pressured to support human rights of the political prisoners. Maeda gave a moving account of increase in Japanese tourism for Kiseng, a contemporary violation of impoverished women comparable to bringing of south Korean "comfort women" to Japanese troops during World War II. In all these struggles, speakers told inspiring examples of courageous resistence through strikes, demonstrations, hunger strikes, sit-ins and mass activities.

All agreed: (1) on establishing Month of May as solidarity month with Korean struggle in solidarity with Kwangju uprising, especially May 18 through 28, (2) promote international movement to save political prisoners and support Korean struggle for democratization and reunification, (3) stop intervention by governments and corporations of Japan and U.S., (4) strengthen all mass movements throughout world against imperialism.

Relationship with Third World Subcom.

People-to-People Level Solidarity against Repression

Prof. Itagaki who chaired the meeting mentioned in his opening speech that relations between south Korea and Third World countries should not be confined to commerce, but also at people-to-people level. This was well received by all delegates who shared the same sentiments. Mr. Lopez from Mexico said that such tradition of solidarity he witnessed at this conference also took place in Latin America. W.P. Tan from Singapore carried this argument further, by stressing that people to people relations between those in Singapore and Malaysia, and their counterparts in south Korea would be fruitful as there is much in common in our struggles against repression.

The various speakers also identified the United States as the superpowers propping up the Chon regime, and many speakers warned that the Reagan administration would only intensify its efforts against the people. Prof. Ernst Utrecht from Indonesia informed the delegates that south Korea is the pivot of a new U.S. military scheme which stretches from Middle East to the Far East, moving right down to Australia with the beefing up of arms to the 5 ASEAN countries by the U.S., a potential south Korean-ASEAN military collaboration is in the making.

The economic link between south Korea and Japan, south Korea and South East Asia, Korea and Middle East were touched upon by various speakers. Ernst Utrecht viewed such link as a contributing factor to increasing repression and exploitation of the South East Asian countries. Mr. Mori also enlightened the delegates on the potential danger of a south Korea's economic relationship with the Middle East countries which might lead to south Korea playing the role of propping up the elites in those areas. Mr. Muto expanded on the relations between Japan and south Korea at a theoretical level, emphasizing that such bilateral links have to be seen in the context of the region. Mr. Kobayashi explored the potential economic links and partnership which south Korea could develop with Japan in the Middle East and the Pacific region.

Background Materials of Subcommittees

Human Rights

Introduced here are gists of background materials at the human rights sub-committee and the economics sub-committee of the Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy which was held in Tokyo from May 16-18.

I. Strengthening the suppression against human rights seen under the Chun Doo Hwan administration.

The regime after Park, however, attempted to strengthen the established instituting conciliatory measures such as some political prisoners' release.

One of the suppressive ways by this regime is typically seen in YMCA case: during 9 days from November 3 to 11, 1979, 3,516 people were framed up on suspicion of violating Martial-Law and taken for inquiry, and 96 out of them were sentenced to imprisonment after barbarous tortures.

Chun Doo Hwan, who had already been successful in obtaining the power to control the military by means of the military purging actoin of December 12, managed to seize a most important functional part of the government by taking up the post of KCIA deputy chief. On assuming the post, Chun Doo Hwan, armed with any possible power, began to prepare himself for coping with the expansive development of movements by the democratic forces. His action was preluded with the bloody suppression of April 21 against the coal miners.

On the 17th of May, Chun Doo Hwan and his clique proclaimed "emergency martial-law" all over the country, and suppressed the democratic forces in any possible way. A great number of democrats headed by Mr. Kim Dae Jung were thrown into jail. And what is still worse, the area of Kwangju turned into "bloody sea".

On the 31st of May, when the blood shed on the soil of Kwangju still remained wet, National Security Committee was set up.

At this particular moment, one of the greatest suppressions in history took place. Democrats and students were suppressed on charge of leading campus demonstrations and agitating Kwangju riot; in parallel with this great suppression, over 10,000 politicians and governmental officials were purged under the pretense of "purifying society"; on account of the nominal reason for "purifying the speech and the publication", moreover, publications of 172 kinds were prohibited from being published, 617 publishing companies were ordered to close down, and 3,360 reporters and editors were expelled from the publication society.

National Security Committee is a "supreme body to decide policies" whose most important posts are exclusively occupied by Chun Doo Hwan clique's active servicemen. In other words, it is a military dictatorial mechanism to which the three powers are tightly concentrated.

On the 27th of October, Chun Doo Hwan, on assuming the post of president, proclaimed the Constitution enacted on his own initiative, and established Legislative Body, which was developed from National Security Committee. This is the way in which Chun Doo Hwan began to form his dictatorial administration.

This newly proclaimed Constitution has two crucial elements that serve to limit human rights more draconianly than the previous one: the phrase "urgent measure" was changed to the phrase "emergency measure"; some reserved "items" to make human rights void were lifted to the status of "provisions".

Legislative Body has succeeded in making up for the incomplete laws inherited from the previous regime and enacting 215 laws.

"Special Measure Law to Innovate Political Climates", enacted in Legislative Body, is designed to control "political enemy's activities" against the Chun Doo Hwan administration. At present, a few hundred people are listed as the possible applied to this law. Moreover, over 300 people, largely democrats, are punished as the preserved to Social Security Law.

In parallel with the repeal of Anti-Communist Law, National Security Law was also revised. The revisions are as follows: objective achieving charge was newly added; penalty regulation at each item was more strengthened by changing highest penalty regulation to lowest penalty regulation.

As for laws concerning gatherings and demonstrations too, penalty was more strengthened. In "Basic Law on Speech", regulations were much more strengthened; an item describing crimes was newly added in connection with editors. 64 corporations engaging in the business of mass-communication have been merged to 20 corporations. The enactment of 5 laws concerning labor greatly served to limit the basis rights of laborers.

While remarkably limiting human rights by legislating many laws, Chun Doo Hwan and his clique are devoting themselves to keeping suppressive tools in better shape.

Here are some examples to prove this move.

(1) reshuffled KCIA
(2) imposed the duty to suppress riots on local reserves
(3) gave the police the right to shoot rioters at their disposal
(4) reinforced 4,500 police and newly built police boxes at 400 places
(5) mapped out the plan to build a correctional house with the accommodation of 6,000 people.

That the suppression against human rights is much more serious and suppressive methods are far more strengthened in the Chun Doo Hwan administration than in the previous administration.

2. Mr. Kim Dae Jung case

The case of Mr. Kim Dae Jung is the rarest one in history in the sense that the two consecutive dictatorial regimes kept suppressing only one individual with the period of 10 years, a variety of power tools, unfair plots, terrorism, and every possible suppressive law.

It was in 1961 that Mr. Kim Dae Jung began to inflict suppression. Park and his clique, who successfully seized the state power by coup d'etat, threw Mr. Kim Dae Jung, congressman in those days, into jail as "anti-revolutionary element" for two months. Mr. Kim's uncompromising and direct confrontation against the Park dictatorial regime took place when Park was elected president for the third consecutive times, revised the Constitution and was exclusively addicted to suppressing human rights.

As the Park regime established the more oppressive institution in October 1972, Mr. Kim Dae Jung began to stay either in Japan or US, and involved himself, while shuttling between Japan and US, in the political activities for "democratization" and "unification of North and South Korea". His activities necessarily began to be "a great threat" to the Park regime.

On the 8th of August, "Mr. Kim Dae Jung Kidnapping Case" broke out which jolted the whole world. According to the original plan of the kidnappers, Mr. Kim was to be killed on the sea. But the public opinion favoring him forced the Park regime to release him at a place near his house on the late night of 13th instead of killing him on the sea. The Park regime, even after the kidnapping case, kept detaining him in jail or in his own house by forcibly giving him the false charges of violating Election Law and Urgent Measure Law so that he might not return to the arena of political activities.

Chun Doo Hwan, who rose up as a successor of the Park regime, prepared himself for the way to counterattack the democratic forces.

On the 17th of May 1980, Chun Doo Hwan and his clique proclaimed Emergency Martial Law all over the country. They jailed a great number of democrats headed by Mr. Kim Dae Jung. This is generally called "2nd Mr. Kim Dae Jung case". In this case, they plotted to give him death sentence on charge of being a pro-communist. In fact, he was sentenced to death on charge of violating National Security Law.

The reason the authorities indicted him on charge of violating National Security Law referred to the alleged point that he organized Japanese headquarters of the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and the Promotion of Reunification (Hanmindong), an anti-state group, and that he was named its chairman and still remains in the post.

The 1st article of National Security Law defines anti-state body as an organization or a group "whose objective is to falsely call itself Government or to bring the state to a disorderly situation". This definition tells us that any part of Hanmindong such as concept, organizational structure and activities does not violate the stipulation of the 1st article of the law. It also tells us that Hanmindong, even if it should be an anti-dictatorial organization, can't be regarded as anti-state body.

That the successive dictatorial regimes have abused National Security Law as an effective tool to lengthen their post as a ruler. Chun Doo Hwan is the very man that embezzled political power from his successors by means of the military force.

As for the case of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the whole process from the illegal arrest to the death sentence is full of serious infringement of human rights.

It was revealed in trials that he had been detained in a basement for sixty consecutive days since the arrest, and inquired every day from 9 a.m. to as late as midnight in any possible persecutive way.

Any criminal code generally stipulates that confession is unable to serve as witness and evidence. In ROK, however, confession is dealt with as "king for witness and evidence". In case of a political prisoner, in particular, torture is publicly used, though the Constitution and the criminal code prohibit torture from being used, to gain confession that is required to make frame-up. This principle was applied to Mr. Kim Dae Jung's case too: his family discloses, "Both indictment reason and defendant's written statement were framed up by means of torture and threat." The 5th provision of "World Declaration for Human Rights" severely prohibits torture. The case of Mr. Kim Dae Jung is a typical example contrary to this provision.

Mr. Kim Dae Jung also suffers from the following discriminations: he is not guaranteed to be provided with an attorney; even an interview with an attorney is extremely limited to the least times; trials are as close as to secret trials in a substantial sense, though the law stipulates that trials should be opened to the public eye. These discriminations are something to infringe the right that enables anyone to have a fair trial and a public trial, both of which are firmly stipulated in the 10th provision of "World Declaration for Human Rights".

Though the complicity system is abolished in the new Constitution, Mr. Kim Dae Jung's family suffers from the infringement of human rights as close as to the extent to be possibly produced in the complicity system; his family is not allowed to go out unless they get the permission beforehand; his relatives and acquaintances are severely prohibited from visiting his house; he is in an informally confined situation.

Mr. Kim Dae Jung's case has served to inform the whole world of the reality of human rights in ROK.

The commutation does not necessarily mean, however, that Mr. Kim Dae Jung's case has finished, though it is true that the commutation has enabled him to survive. In fact, his political life remains frozen, and his body remains bound to the situation of perpetual imprisonment.

3. Kwangju massacre case

Kwangju case, which jolted the whole world for 10 days, was triggered by Chun Doo Hwan clique's indiscriminate massacre: in this barbarous action, two thousand and several hundred people ranging from 3 years old to 80 years old were massacred, and what is more, several thousand people became missing.

In those days, the movement for democratization was prevailing all over the country at a tremendous speed. Chun Doo Hwan carried out such a bloody massacre against the people in Kwangju as a warning to the rise of the movement for democratization.

May 27 last the tanks and troops of the Chon junta gathered at the square of the Kwangju provincial office, which brutally silenced the 300,000 students and citizens. (From the September 1980 issue of "AMPO," a Japan-Asia quarterly review)

The struggles of the Korean people, which drove the Park regime to self-collapse, were in progress at an unexpected pace even after Park's self-collapse; the rise of the Korean people's struggles can be typically illustrated by the struggle of 3,000 coal miners who rose up for survival, which finally led to the development of large-scale movements calling for campus freedom, Chun Doo Hwan clique's resignation, the repeal of the martial-law, etc. The establishment of a democratic administration elected in a democratic way is one of the things the Korean people call for. A kind of peaceful marches used to take place all over the country to realize this claim.

Chun Doo Hwan, in order to cope with the rise of the movements for democratization, extended the application of the martial law to the whole country on May 18, and, as a result, arrested as many democrats as possible. At the same time, furthermore, he forced Kwangju massacre as a menace to the nation.

The province in which Kwangju city is located is famous not only as Mr. Kim Dae Jung's native place but as a place which takes pride in having a glorious tradition of the numerous national-democratic movements. Over 800,000 citizens in this province were involved in the movement for democratization even after Park's assassination.

"Kwangju Massacre case" was made use of not only as a warning to the movement for democratization but as a source to frame up "2nd Mr. Kim Dae Jung Case". The authorities took more than several thousand Kwangju citizens for inquiry, tortured them in a merciless way, framed up "Intrigue Case of Internal Disturbances", and finally threw Mr. Kim Dae Jung to jail as a ringleader of Kwangju uprising.

Another point we should not overlook in Kwangju case is the role US played. US supplied the Chun Doo Hwan administration with arms, and moved US military forces around Kwangju so that Chun Doo Hwan could successfully control the area of Kwangju. US even dispatched some aircraft carriers to ROK to make up for the shortage of over 70,000 soldiers in the military boundary zone between North and South Korea, as the shortage was caused by the dispatch of 70,000 soldiers to Kwangju. This is how US collaborated on Kwangju massacre with Chun Doo Hwan.

It is fact that Kwangju uprising was reduplicated in some neighboring areas. Press control has prevented us from learning how these areas were suppressed.

Kwangju massacre, most cruel barbarism in history, not only disclosed Chun Doo Hwan's identity as a murder maniac, but drove him to the place in which he has to face challenge from the whole mankind.

Background Materials of Subcommittees

The Economic Situation

Contradictions and Problems Inherent In High Growth

1) Fragility of Industrialization and Increasing Dependence on Japan

South Korea's striking economic growth did not lead to an improvement in its balance of trade. In fact, its international balance of payments is chronically in deficit. In 1979 exports increased to $15.06 billion, but imports increased to a record-breaking $20.34 billion, leaving south Korea with a trade deficit of $5.28 billion. Far from being a temporary phenomenon, deficits are a structural part of export-led economies. The more exports increase under this mechanism, the more imports surpass them.

This is due, first of all, to a poverty of natural resources which requires that almost all the raw materials for exports be imported. Lumber, raw cotton, raw sugar, oil and other industrial raw materials constituted 57.5% of imports in 1975 and recorded big deficits after the first oil shock in 1974-5 and the second in 1979. Yet this alone does not explain why south Korea's deficits are chronic. A more important factor lies within the very structure of the south Korean economy, especially its industrialization. At this point two different problems confront us.

The first is the so-called problem of dual structure which arises due to distortions caused by south Korea's export-first policy which suppresses the domestic economy. As mentioned, the government raised the value of south Korean exports and made them internationally competitive by providing big business with all kinds of financial and tax aid. Not only was no such aid given to firms producing for the domestic market, but interest and taxes were extremely high. Thus export value and internal value have become separated, and commodities are sold expensively on the domestic market to offset the special low prices being charged for exports. Thus the foreign market is dualistically separated from the domestic market.

An even more basic reason, however, why industrialization has increased imports and caused a trade imbalance is that south Korea lacks a coherent production system for its industrial goods. When the south Korean shipping industry builds a ship it is building, in the final analysis, nothing more than the hull: most of the engines and machinery have had to be imported. South Korea is not pursuing a type of industrialization that will enable it to produce commodities in a single, organically linked, simultaneous process from raw material to finished product; instead, by giving priority to exports with no consideration for coherency, south Korea is experiencing not only structural deficits but also a structural dependence on foreign parts, technology, and capital as it attempts to expand its petrochemical heavy industries. Imports of machinery and equipment from Japan in particular have been rapidly increasing, and the rapid deterioration in the terms of trade between south Korea and Japan that can be seen in **Table 5** poses a serious problem for trade between the two countries.

In order to overcome these difficulties, the south Korean government initiated the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1977 and embarked on a program of creating a viable machine industry. Thus the Changwon Machine Industry Complex was built adjacent to the Masan Industrial Complex. The Machinery industry in south Korea, however, was still rudimentary, however, and without any international competitiveness at all. With the exception of automobiles, none of the south Korean monopolistic conglomerates had any experience or expertise in the machine industry. Therefore south Korean industries had to introduce technology from abroad, especially from Japan. The machine industry involves putting together a great number of parts into a whole and requires the existence of a great many parts makers with high, reliable levels of technology. In south Korea, however, there were literally no medium- and small-scale firms with sufficient capital and technology to produce parts. Machines, like textiles and electrical appliances, must be reliable or they won't sell at any cost, so the main parts for south Korean machines must be imported, especially from Japan. Because the government suppressed production for the domestic market, medium and small industries did not have scope to grow. Management and the introduction of technology was difficult, and this made it impossible for them to serve as parts makers. Thus the establishment of a machinery industry in south Korea made the country even more dependent on Japan.

2) Low-Wage Structure and The Ruin of Agriculture

Export-led high growth gave rise to a very problematic industrialization under which big business was allowed to grow inordinately at the expense of the people, most of whom were unable to share in that growth.

One of the major reasons that south Korean exports were able to achieve international competitiveness under the export-first policy was the structuralization of low wages. Even though exporters were receiving enormous aid from the government it was difficult for south Korean goods to compete on the world market with goods from the industrialized nations. It was decided to aim for attractive prices even at the risk of low quality. Since south Korea must import raw materials and manufacture goods out of them, it had to suppress wages in the manufacturing sector. The only way it could promote foreign investment was to use this attraction of low wages. Thus as soon as the Masan Free Trade Zone was opened Japanese medium- and small-scale industries began to rush in to take advantage of south Korea's cheap, plentiful labor power.

Some idea of just how low south Korean wages are can be gained from **Table 6**, which compares south Korean and Japanese wages. The average wage of a south Korean worker in the years shown here is about one-fifth that of a Japanese worker, and despite wage increases in the last few years that approached 30%, this ratio has not fundamentally changed. Moreover, the proportion of wages in total costs in south Korea is only two-thirds of what it is in Japan. Especially important is that these low wages are acquired through long periods of labor. In 1978 the average Japanese male worker worked 177.6 hours a month, and the average female worker worked 163.3 hours. During the same year, the average south Korean male worker worked 231.5 hours a month and the average female worker 230.3 hours. Thus south Korean male workers worked 30% longer and south Korean female workers worked 40% longer than their Japanese counterparts. 230 hours of work a month means a long workweek of 52 hours. Because wages are low the domestic market can't develop; because the domestic market is small the economy becomes export-led; and, for the sake of exports, wages must be forced down low wages and long working hours have thus become a structural mechanism.

In 1980 wages rose by 23.9% but real wages actually decreased by 4.5% (*Chosun Daily, March 31, 1981*). As can be seen from **Table 7**, which shows consumer expenditures, there has been almost no improvement in workers' standard of living. Between 1968 and 1978 there was almost no change in the ratio of expenditures for food to total consumer expenditures, the Engels coefficient, which is used a barometer of the standard of living; moreover, this ratio is 50%, indicating a very low standard of living. According to a survey carried out by the Association of South Korean Labor Unions among 1,065,000 members in 1980, minimum monthly living expenses for a family of five were 394,000 won while average wages were 146,000 won. It is no exaggeration to say that almost all south Korean workers, especially women workers, unorganized workers, workers in small businesses, and young workers in textiles, are forced into deficit living at almost starvation wages.

In order to maintain the low wages necessary for export expansion, the government had to suppress price rises in consumer goods, especially food expenses, which make up such a large part of working people's budgets. The main target was agricultural products, the staple grains. In order to keep grain prices low, the government had to import foreign grain. As can be seen in **Table 8**, the living standard of farm households is becoming even worse than that of workers.

Farmers who failed had to sell their land and cultivate others' land. In 1975 26.9% of farmers were tenant farmers, in 1976 33.7%, and in 1977 36.1% (Seoul Economist, Aug. 29, 1979). This means that more than half of the farmers who received land under the land reform carried out around the time of the Korean war have once more sunk into the condition of being tenant farmers. The concept of independent farming is ending in failure. Moreover, 80% of tenancy charges are paid, as before, in kind; and tenancy charges run to about half the harvest. Thus, while south Korea has pursued an industrialization policy centered in the cities, a "half-feudal" landlord-tenant farmer relation still remains in its farm villages.

Unable to bear this burden, farmers have left the land and flocked to the cities: 459,000 in 1976, 476,000 in 1977, 781,000 in 1978, and 445,000 in 1979. Thus farm households decreased from 2,336,000 in 1976 to 2,162,000 in 1979; and the farm population, which was about 15,000,000 in the 60s, fell to 12,785,000 in 1976 and 10,883,000 in 1979.

Once these landless former farmers arrive in the city another problem greets them: the lack of sufficient employment. They do not have the skills required to become factory workers right away, and as a result they simply swell the slums of Seoul and other large cities. They are "excess" population and they form an industrial reserve army that acts as a brake on the wages of unskilled urban workers or even pushes those wages down.

Meanwhile farm production falls due to farm failures. Whereas in 1965 south Korea supplied 94.2% of its own food, it now grows only 70%. To make up the difference, in 1979 the government spent $827 in precious foreign currency to import grain.

Table 5 Trade With Japan And The U.S.

	Japan		U. S.		Total	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
1977	2,148	3,927	3,119	2,447	10,047	10,811
	21.4	36.3	31.0	22.6	100.0	100.0
1978	2,627	5,982	4,058	3,043	12,711	14,971
	20.7	40.0	31.9	20.3	100.0	100.0
1979	3,353	6,657	4,373	4,603	15,055	20,338
	22.3	33.0	29.0	22.9	100.0	100.0

Source: Bank of South Korea, Economic Statistics Yearbook, 1980

Table 6 Comparison Of South Korean And Japanese

	Wages							
	Value added per person (thousands of won)			Labor Costs (thousands of won)			Comparative Labor Costs	
	South Korea (A)	Japan (B)	A/B	South Korea (A)	Japan (B)	A/B	South Korea	Japan
1971	730	2,013	0.36	[illegible]	1,335	0.22	[illegible]	[illegible]
73	1,208	3,634	0.33	[illegible]	2,196	0.18	[illegible]	[illegible]
75	1,474	4,382	0.34	[illegible]	3,312	0.19	[illegible]	[illegible]
77	2,170	6,940	0.31	[illegible]	5,099	0.20	106	[illegible]

Source: South Korea Productivity Center, Research On Special Features Of South Korean Employment And Wages, Dec. 1979

Table 7 Private Consumer Expenditures
90% of Ordinary Expenses

	1968	1970	1972	1974	1976	1978	1979
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Foodstuffs	51.0	52.6	52.7	52.3	52.2	50.6	49.0
Housing	6.8	7.6	7.8	7.9	8.7	9.1	9.3
Heat and Light	1.1	4.1	1.8	3.7	3.6	3.3	4.6
Clothing	10.5	10.3	10.1	10.2	10.2	10.1	9.4
Miscellaneous	25.2	25.2	25.6	25.9	25.7	26.9	28.7

Source: Economic Planning Institute, Index Of Major Businesses

Table 8 Comparison Of Incomes Of Farm Households And Urban Workers

	Farm Household Incomes		Urban Worker Family Incomes		A/B
	Real Income(A)	Index	Real Income(B)	Index	
1963	475.4	54.4	409.0	49.6	116.2
1965	388.6	44.5	389.5	45.4	99.7
1967	416.4	47.8	692.6	80.7	60.1
1969	496.3	56.9	759.9	88.5	65.3
1971	642.1	73.5	814.3	94.7	78.9
1973	751.1	86.0	859.7	100.0	87.4
1975	872.9	100.0	859.3	100.0	101.6
1977	1,126.4	129.0	1,105.2	128.6	102.0
1978	1,295.0	148.3	1,317.0	153.3	98.3

Source: Economic Planning Institute, Index Of Major Business, 1979

Present Economic Crisis and Future Prospects

As the south Korea economy enters the 1980s, the factors which brought high growth are reaching their limits, and the export-led development policy is no longer feasible. Worsening inflation is raising the price of exports, and thus worsening price competitiveness and export profitability. At the same time, restraints on south Korean exports are being strengthened abroad. A series of austerity measures taken after April, 1979 have held down exports and the growth rate has slowed down. But inflation continues to accelerate in typical stagflationary fashion. Industrial bankruptcies and unemployment were reaching crisis proportions when the people of Masan and Pusan resisted and demonstrated. Then, at the movement of greatest economic and political crisis, President Pak was assassinated.

The situation, however, has continued to get worse. In 1980 a record-breaking −5.7% growth was recorded. This was only the second minus growth in south Korean history, and surpassed the −1.4% growth recorded in 1956. The recession deepens, industrial management becomes more difficult, plant utilization is falling, and, in petrochemical heavy industry, operations continue to be curtailed 30–40%. More and more wage cuts and cases of nonpayment of wages due to bankruptcies and operating reductions are occurring even among big conglomerates, and unemployment is increasing rapidly. At the end of 1980 the official unemployment rate reached 6.3%, with more than 800,000 people unemployed. These figures far underestimate actual unemployment, however, since a person who works even a single hour a week is considered to be employed. The actual number of unemployed and partially-employed (day laborers, those on temporary jobs) is probably 3–4 million. But even in the midest of this recession inflation continues to soar. In 1980 wholesale prices officially rose 44.2% and consumer prices 28.7%, surpassing the worst records of the 70s.

Even more serious is the deepening currency crisis brought on by the deterioration in the balance of payments. In spite of the decrease in exports, imports continue to increase, and in 1980 trade was $4.662 in deficit. When the extra-trade deficit is included, the balance of payments deficit rose from $4.150 billion registered in 1979 to $5.525 in 1980. Foreign debt repayment reached $3 billion in 1980 and is projected to reach $3.5 billion in 1981. To tide over this foreign currency crisis, south Korea must this year, like last, induce approximately $8 billion in foreign currency. In the face of this unprecedented crisis, it is not surprising that the Seoul Economist (Nov. 8, 1980) should declare that "The south Korean economy is at a critical point of grave difficulty and collapse."

The Chun Doo-Hwan regime has developed no concrete policy to cope with this very serious crisis.

Seoul University Student Declaration on Anti-Fascism

Students of Seoul National University, the most prestigious school of south Korea, rose in an anti-Chon, anti-fascist demonstration on March 19 last. While staging an on-campus protest demonstration, they distributed large numbers of copies of their "Anti-Fascist Declaration." Their full text was reprinted in the April 15 issue of Minjok Sibo, a Korean-language journal of Hanmintong (the Congress for Democracy and Unification of Korea), a splinter from Mindan (the Association of "ROK" Residents in Japan). Here, an unofficial translation of the statement:

Democratic fellow students and democratic fellow citizens here and abroad!

At this moment when the history of our people is being trampled underfoot, what on earth are we seeing, hearing and feeling at all?

Aren't we becoming unconcerned about the dictator stemming the forge of the Korean people? Aren't we oblivious of the anti-national, anti-popular and anti-democratic behavior of his junta? Aren't we turning our backs onto our brothers and comrades who are risking their lives in fighting to defend their human existence, not yielding to the ruthless crackdown by the fascist dictatorship?

Isn't it time now for all our people to lay down their lives in an resistance to the villainous fascist dictatorship? Let's firm up our resolve to lay bare the hereinto-concealed true colors of the fascist dictatorial regime of Chon Du Hwan and overthrow it.

1. What is fascism? It is a government against the people. On the political front, it smothers liberal democracy, uses clubs and bayonets to crack down on the resistant people and denies them their fundamental right to human existence. On the economic front, it sucks the blood of the people to protect the vested rights of the privileged quarters.

After its May 16 (1961) coup, the Pak government maintained many years of dictatorship by murdering democracy and persecuting the masses of people. Its collapse was caused partly by the ceaseless determined anti-autocratic campaign of the people and partly by its internal splits and feuds.

What was that traitorous group which came into being in the midst of guns as a result of mercilessly repressing the aspirations of the people for democratic restoration in the wake of the October 26 presidential assassination? It was the present fascist political cabal led by murdermania Chon Du Hwan. The Chon junta, taking over the fascist dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi, staged the December 12 coup and established a far more vicious fascist dictatorship. They violently cracked down through the May 17 coup numerous working-class struggles and the pan-national democratic campaigns, including those carried out by good-minded intellectuals, journalists, religionists, politicians and students and the Sabok coal miners revolt.

Ah! How could we forget the blood of many Kwangju citizens sprinkled on Kumnam Street?

How could we forget the sanguinary screams of over 2,000 Kwangju citizens who were stage-managed a series of political fighting the Chon cabal's machine-guns, cannons and tanks in a bid to defend democracy?

Chon Du Hwan is a traitor to the nation standing on piles of corpses of democratic citizens. This gang stage-managed a series of political farces, including the fraudulent "constitutional amendment" designed to cheat the nation. By fabricating a popular will, he tries to portray himself as an unrivalled leader of the nation.

Did that plebiscite on a constitutional amendment, staged in an atmosphere of terror, reflect genuine public will? People were forced to cast their votes under a variety of violent threats with virtual martial law in effect throughout the country.

How and why are political institutions tailored to the taste of the fascist cabal of Chon Du Hwan "new democracy"; they were produced with all political activities banned.

Chon became a president only by means of an electoral college, a sophisticated replica of the national conference for unification under the yusin dictatorship. He defied the demand of an overwhelming majority of the nation for direct elections. Wasn't he afraid of a judgement of the population?

Revising the labor relations law, the law on rallies and demonstrations and the law on the press and enacting the law on public custody amounts to a total denial of the people's fundamental rights and a strangulation of all anti-fascist democratic dissident forces. Isn't it a full revelation of Chonists' true colors?

The orthodoxy of the Chon group as a fascist gang has been laid bare before the history of the masses, before their eyes, under the banner of democracy and in the resentment of the people. "stability," "well-being" and "justice" are being advocated in a deceptive manner in order to cover up the fascist legitimacy, a sore spot. Will the people be again duped?

2. Can the fascist government of Chon work out all the contradictions of the Korean society?

An historic task confronting the Korean people today is the solution of the political and economic contradictions spawned by the old yusin regime, that is, the building of political democracy and economic democracy. Yet, what we saw is the far more draconial suppression of democracy.

What is the economic situation, the most pressing issue of all the people?

The monopoly big corporation-oriented dependent economy was fed with starvation wages of the workers, low-priced agricultural products and runaway development inflation, but it was declared insolvent at the end of the seventies.

Look at the beleaguered Chon fascist dictatorial regime desperately trying to retain its vested rights!

They are reinforcing the anti-popular structure of inequality and economic subjugation, a carryover from the yusin era. Externally, they are making the economy more dependent on foreign countries with an unrestrained introduction of capital and technology. Internally, the economy is becoming more anti-popular and monopolistic as a result of an intensified exploitation of the direct producer masses.

Firstly, the unrestricted induction of capital from advanced countries, which is being carried out in collaboration with some monopoly cliques, is clearly leading the constitutionally weak economy to collapse. The Chon fascist regime, instead of attempting a radical settlement of the present subjugatory economic structure, is reproducing in an unchanged way those contradictions with an inflow of larger loans and direct investments. For example, they have taken a number of steps in that direction since September, 1980: the grant of permission to foreigners to own real estates in Korea, no restriction of direct investments, the opening of the securities market and the authorization of setting-up of branches in Korea of foreign banks.

How can our economy afford to withstand these? It is having serious difficulty servicing the foreign debts of $26 billion by introducing short-term loans – a per-capita debt of 500,000 won. How can our fragile economy survive the ruthless logic of capital of advanced countries when direct investments by foreigners are allowed without any curb? These steps will no doubt further fatten foreign monopoly capital and a handful of domestic allies. A net outcome is a worse subjugation, inequality and eventual catastrophe.

Secondly, all the masses are subject to harsher exploitation. A fundamental change in the economic fabrics is imperative at present as the export-only dependent economy has been limp in trouble. However, the fascist dictatorial regime has offered preferential financial support to some big corporations in their money-losing export drive and caused an inflationary spiral – realignment of the heavy industrial sections for a domestic monopoly and cartel and a 44.2 percent hike in the prices during 1980.

Their aim is to have the masses foot the bill and stay on in absolute poverty. This year a projected pay increase for the workers is 15 percent. More than 49 percent of the workers receive monthly wages of less than 100,000 won, while over 90 percent of the female workers get those amounts – starvation wages, a byproduct of the anti-popular behavior of a handful of the privileged quarters.

The real wages dropped by 6.2 percent last year, not to mention the nominal wages, because of back wages, cuts in wages, prolongation of working hours and the threats of dismissal. The masses of Korea is already in a state of absolute depravity, not human living.

3. What should we do? What we must do is only an all-people, relentless and ceaseless struggle against the Chon junta, a struggle for democracy, for the nation and for the people. We must join the ranks of a struggle to expedite the just development of our national history. There cannot be any silence or compromise or concession in our struggle against them.

We must be ready to keep up an unflagging struggle even treading corpses of our masses with tears on our faces, under whatsoever adverse circumstances, in defiance of whatsoever severe repression and retaliation. In this process the enemy is bound to reveal his filthy nature and end up in a shameful ruin.

Stability is the only way out for the Chon cabal with all powers and wealth in its hands. Since we have nothing to lose any longer, a stability without a democratic struggle is tantamount to a suicide for us.

Fellow students and democratic fellow students! All democratic compatriots here and abroad!

It is not the murderous Chon gang, but the sacred history of the Korean nation and the masses of this land that will judge us.

It is not a heaven of petty bureaucrats but the ranks of people in search of truth where we should find themselves. It is not an escapist attitude but passion and valor for a democratic campaign that we must have.

Democratic fellow students!

Now, let's march! Let's join the glorious ranks of a democratic campaign to the last man! Let's join the ranks of an anti-Chon, anti-fascist struggle!

SLOGANS:

–Overthrow the murder Chon Du Hwan!
–Down with the fascist dictatorial regime!
–Reject violent elections!
–Release the detained people and students!
–Defend democracy!
–Win back the three rights of labor!
–Guarantee the price of blood!
–All the democratic forces, unite!

ACTION GUIDELINES:

1. To totally reject the March 25 general elections;
2. To unite all the democratic forces and reorganize them as a vanguard unit of the anti-fascist struggle;
3. To provide information to the masses through all available channels to lead them to struggle.

March 1980
Democratic Students of Seoul National University

Anyone who happens to pick this handbill up is requested to let this known to as many fellow students and people as possible and stand in the fore front of an operation to disclose the conduct of the fascist junta of Chon Du Hwan.

List of Overseas Participants

The following is the list of overseas participants of the May 16–19 Emergency World Assembly for South Korean Democracy.

Alain Bouce, France, Economist,
Dave Dellinger, USA, Chairman of Coalition for Justice & Peace in the Middle East,
Alex Divinconti, USA, Co-Chairperson of Committee in Solidarity with the Korean People,
Kwame Toure, USA, Organizer : All Afrikan Peoples Revolutionary Party,
Wanin Wonghanchao, Thailand, Director of Social Research Inst. of Chulalongkorn University,
Froylan M. López Narváez, Mexico, Journalist : Vice-editer in chief of Processo,
Tim Shorrock, USA, Journalist : Researcher with Nautilus International,
Kabir Chawdhury, Bangladesh, Professor, Author,
A. Bacelar, Portugal, Member of Socialist Party of Portugal,
Gregory Nissen, Holland, Member of Dutch Labor Party,
G. Derieuw, Belgium, Member of Belgian Socialist Party,
Günter Freudenberg, W. Germany, Professor, Chairman of Korea-Committee in W. Germany and Berlin,
Marcella Gllisenti, Italy, Journalist,
Gelix Guattari, France, Thinker,
Harry Sichrovsky, Austria, Journalist,
Steffen Trechsel, Switzerland, Professor,
K. Jayatilake, Sri Lanka, Writer,
Isang Yun, W. Germany, Professor,
Patty Chang, USA, Activist,
Nicola Geiger, USA, Activist,
David Bogget, England, Professor,
Dennis Canavon, England, MP, House of Commons,
Gavan McCormack, England, Professor,
Jon Halliday, England, Scholar,
Daniel Mayer, France, President of International Human Rights League,
Magrini, Italy,
Jacque Hersh, Denmark, Journalist
Ellen Brun, Denmark, Journalist,
Bo Gunnerson, Sweden, Journalist,
Luise Rinser, W. Germany, Author,
Armand Uribe, Chile, Professor,
Jack Clancey, Hong Kong, Christian Minister, Activist,
Ernst Utrecht, Indonesia, Professor of Sydney University,
Ignacio A. Anastacio, Palau, MP,
A. N. Bose, India, Professor,
Tan Wah Piow, Singapore, Activist,
F. Abdul-Hamid, Palestine, PLO, Representative in Japan,
Hans Thoolen, Holland, Executive Secretary of International Commission of Jurists,
Edmond Jouve, France, Lawyer,
Alfred Emerlich, W. Germany, MP,
Roberto Dorado, Spain, Spanish Council,
Joan Taggart, Australia, Vice- President of Australian Labor Party,
Ian Wilson, Australia, Professor of Australian National University,
Mark Raper, Australia, Christian Minister

(Continued from page 3)

In reference to Korea, Dr. Emerlich noted, "These inalienable rights include the right of one people to live together as one nation."

Mr. Dave Dellinger, one of America's most prominent anti-war activist, made reference to tens of thousands of U.S. troops in south Korea. He said while Americans aren't as consistent and broad in their opposition to the Seoul regime as they should be since "U.S. military imperialism is a giant octopus with its tentacles all over the world."

The second-day session was divided into 8 subcommittees – Politics, Relationship with Third World, Mass Solidarity Movements, Economics, Ideas and Culture, Human Rights, Military and Relationship with Advanced Countries.

In the politics subcommittee, many delegates expressed deep doubt and suspicion about the motive behind the formation of a trilateral military alliance of the United States, Japan and south Korea.

A great deal of time was spent on the nature of dictatorships and the lack of dialogue.

In the subcommittee on relations with third world, various speakers identified the United States as the superpower propping up the Chon junta, and many warned that the Reagan administration would only intensify its efforts against the people.

* * * * * * * * *

A long-term significance of the last conference lies in the presence of delegates from the new ruling Socialist Party of France and the present ruling Social Democratic Party of West Germany. The Australian Labor Party had its Vice-President attend the assembly. It is a strong favorite to take over the reins of government in the next general elections of Australia.

Diplomatic observers in Tokyo believe that the new French Government and West German President Mitterrand will consider major political and economic sanctions. The West German Social Democratic Party will take concerted action.

These West European delegates agreed that the Kim Dae Jung case is far from over regardless of the so-called commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment.

They insisted that the south Korean opposition leader must become free at the earliest date.

The May 16-19 world assembly is certain to produce new momentum in the worldwide campaign to help restore democracy in south Korea and challenge the militaristic totalitarian rule of Gen. Chon Du Hwan who enjoys full support of the bellicose Reagan Administration.

THE PEOPLE'S KOREA Published every Saturday by the Chosen Sinbo Company For subscription or further details, please write to the Editorial Department, 5, Tsukudo-Hachiman-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162 Japan Tel. 03-269-0131-8 Anybody is free to reproduce or quote any stories or articles in The People's Korea.